

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PM-04 NSC-05

SP-02 SS-15 DODE-00 PRS-01 L-03 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 EB-07

IO-10 /073 W

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R 052107Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4927

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 28891

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, US, FR

SUBJECT: CSCE CONSULTATIONS WITH FRENCH: QUAI'S MOOD
SOMBER AFTER GISCARD VISIT

REF: (A) PARIS 26447 (NOTAL); (B) STATE 243432 (NOTAL)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: FRENCH SUGGEST THAT FIRST INFORMAL
US-FRENCH BILATERAL CSCE CONSULTATIONS TAKE PLACE
NOVEMBER 13. ON BALANCE WE FIND QUAI SOBER, ALMOST
CHASTENED, OVER CSCE PROSPECTS IN LIGHT SOVIET REACTIONS
THIS SUBJECT DURING GISCARD'S MOSCOW VISIT. END SUMMARY

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2. IN SERIES OF INFORMAL CONTACTS WITH QUAI OFFICIALS

RESPONSIBLE CSCE SINCE RECEIPT DEPARTMENT'S REFTEL, WE HAVE NOTICED CERTAIN CHANGE IN QUAI'S EARLIER RELATIVE SELF-CONFIDENCE OVER CSCE, PARTICULARLY AS TO ITS ASSESSMENT OF EFFICACY OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS AS MEANS OF OBTAINING SOVIET IMPLEMENTATION CONCESSIONS.

3. IN OUR MOST RECENT CONTACT NOVEMBER 3, PIERRET, THE ABOUT-TO-DEPART HEAD OF WHAT REMAINS OF QUAI'S CSCE WORKING GROUP, ADMITTED GLOOMILY THAT MAIN LESSON TO BE DRAWN FROM GISCARD'S AND PARTICULARLY FROM ANDREANI'S MOSCOW CSCE NEGOTIATIONS WAS THAT SOVIETS WERE NOT LIKELY TO MAKE MAJOR CONCESSIONS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. PIERRET ADMITTED, AS HAD OTHER QUAI OFFICIALS, THAT FRENCH HAD HAD SOME HOPES THAT SOVIETS WOULD MAKE A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF CONCESSIONS TO JUSTIFY EFFORTS FRENCH HAD MADE TO FACILITATE NEGOTIATION OF THE FINAL ACT AND REALIZATION OF THE HELSINKI SUMMIT. ALTHOUGH QUAI HAD SENT UP WARNING FLAGS TO ELYSEE NOT TO BE OVER-OPTIMISTIC JUST BEFORE GISCARD'S MOSCOW DEPARTURE, PIERRET SAYS ELYSEE PERSISTED IN PRESSING FOR DETAILED SOVIET CSCE IMPLEMENTATION TEXT. THE EFFORT PRODUCED ONLY THREE SPECIFIC CONCESSIONS, WHICH TAKEN TOGETHER, AMOUNT TO VERY LITTLE:

(A) THE EXCHANGE OF FRENCH AND SOVIET NOTES ON MULTIPLE VISAS FOR JOURNALISTS;

(B) A SOVIET PROMISE TO EXAMINE IMPROVED WORKING PROVISIONS FOR VARIOUS CATEGORIES FOR VISITORS, INCLUDING BUSINESSMEN AND JOURNALISTS; AND

(C) INCLUSION OF REFERENCES TO THE FINAL ACT IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE TOURISM ACCORD, AS WELL AS IN THE OTHER AGREEMENTS SIGNED DURING THE VISIT.

4. PIERRET CONFIRMED THAT SOVIETS MOREOVER MADE IT CLEAR, IN SPITE BREZHNEV'S ALLUSIONS TO BILATERAL ACCORDS AT HELSINKI, NOT ONLY THAT SOVIETS HAD NO INTENTION NEGOTIATE BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENTS ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL, BUT THAT THEY WOULD ONLY ENTER INTO CONFIDENTIAL

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INFORMAL BILATERAL EXCHANGES ON SPECIFIC POINTS REGARDING WHICH FINAL ACT CALLS FOR SUCH ACTION. PIERRET CONCLUDED THAT THIS LEFT RATHER SMALL NUMBER OF SUBJECTS SUSCEPTIBLE BILATERAL DISCUSSION WITH THE SOVIETS.

5. ASKED HOW FRENCH NOW VISUALIZE NEXT STEPS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, PIERRET THOUGHT QUAI HOPED THAT SOME TECHNICAL PROGRESS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE WITHIN ECE

AND UNESCO, BUT DID NOT BELIEVE MUCH COULD BE DONE FOR TIME BEING ON POLITICAL LEVEL. FRENCH EXPECT TO COMPLETE THEIR INTERNAL REVIEW OF CSCE FOLLOW-UP BY END OF YEAR. BY THAT TIME PIERRET'S SUCCESSOR WILL ALSO BE ON BOARD, WHO, AS WE EXPECTED, WILL FUNCTION AS SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO ANDREANI, THE QUAI'S DIRECTOR FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

6. PIERRET DID WELCOME DEPARTMENT'S AGREEMENT TO INFORMAL REGULAR CSCE CONSULTATIONS (REF B) AND SUGGESTED

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 28891

THAT FIRST SUCH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS TAKE PLACE NOVEMBER 13. IN THIS CONNECTION HE REITERATED THAT QUAI DOES NOT WANT TO PLAY ACTIVE ROLE IN MULTILATERAL CSCE PLANNING ON ANYTHING EXCEPT CBM-RELATED ISSUES. IT HAS MADE THIS CLEAR IN RECENT COUNCIL OF EUROPE DISCUSSIONS IN STRASBOURG, IN THE EC-NINE WORKING GROUP ON CSCE, AND IN DISCUSSIONS WITH ALLIES SUCH AS OURSELVES. QUAI'S MOSCOW EXPERIENCE HAS FURTHER CONFIRMED FRENCH INSTINCT THAT HIGHLY VISIBLE MULTILATERAL ACTIVITY IN WHATEVER FORUM CAN ONLY FURTHER PUT SOVIETS ON DEFENSIVE. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE THOUGHT THAT THE EXISTENCE AND DEVELOP-
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MENT OF BILATERAL CHANNELS, SUCH AS THE ONE WE ARE BEGINNING TO ESTABLISH COULD BECOME INCREASINGLY USEFUL IN TIME, PARTICULARLY AS BELGRADE MEETING APPROACHES, TO MAINTAIN MORE DELIBERATE LONGER-TERM MOMENTUM ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION.

7. REQUESTED ACTION: PIERRET SAID QUAI WOULD PROBABLY SEEK U.S. VIEWS ON SEVERAL QUESTIONS NOVEMBER 13, BUT DID NOT HAVE DETAILS. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL FOR U.S. SIDE TO SEEK FRENCH COOPERATION ON A FEW QUESTIONS IF ONLY TO ESTABLISH OUR OWN INTEREST IN EXCHANGE. IT OCCURS TO US THAT INFORMAL FRENCH REACTION TO U.S. CHECK LIST, AS WELL AS ELABORATION FRENCH ASSESSMENT OF PROSPECTS IN ECE AND UNESCO MIGHT BE POSSIBLE THEMES. DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS WOULD BE APPRECIATED BY NOVEMBER 12.
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